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# West Europe Report

No. 1617



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# WEST EUROPE REPORT

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#### SOCIALIST UNION LEADER RENS ADVOCATES THE MODERNIZATION

Brussels LE SOIR in French 12 Aug 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jef Rens, Labor union militant, former chairman, National Labor Council: "Heading toward a New Munich?"]

[Text] I am struck by the strange rumors about the position adopted by certain political parties on foreign policy, especially regarding the priority problems of European defense.

If I am to believe these rumors, our socialist parties opposed a decision adopted unanimously by the Council of the Atlantic Alliance on 12 December 1979 which boils down to increasing the means of deterrence of the Western European countries to the level of those which are being put into place by the countries of the Warsaw Pact. What is this all about?

It is an established fact that the USSR is in the process of rapidly developing—at the rate of one unit per week—the "SS-20" missile system and put the so—called "Backfire" bombers in operating position; these are weapons whose attack value is redoubtable and against which the means of deterrence available to the NATO countries are ineffective.

In order to restore the balance between the defense systems of the countries of the East and those of Western Europe, the foreign ministers and the defense ministers decided at Brussels last December to modernize the defense systems and to replace the "Pershing-1" missiles with 108 "Pershing-2" missiles of a more modern type, as well as 464 "cruise missiles" launched from the ground.

In carrying out such a program, Europe would have facing the countries of the East forces almost equivalent to what the East has, which somehow would be cantamount to neutralizing them. Now, what is happening? On the part of the countries of the East, such a system was adopted and put in place merely on the basis of the wishes of the USSR. On the other hand, in Western Europe, the placement of such a deterrent force necessitates, in addition to a decision by the United States, collective action by the European members of NATO. For reasons as obscure as they are unacceptable, the socialist parties are trying to oppose the idea of having Belgium assume the role which falls to it within the Alliance.

This attitude reminds me of the attitude of those parties which wanted peace at any price in September 1938. Hitler had persuaded Chamberlain and Daladier to sign agreements which, so to speak, were to put an end to any new demands by Germany and to inaugurate an age of peace. I admit that I believe in the good aspects of this agreement and, when it was signed, I experience what Leon Blum had called a feeling of "faint-hearted relief." I was never as sorry about anything as having put my faith in that agreement which in fact sounded the death knell for Czechoslovakia.

The lesson I learned from this dark chapter in the history of our Europe is that it is vain to try to negotiate with a dictatorial regime which wants to dominate the world when one does not have the power necessary to make it abide by agreements which might result from such negotiations.

For my part, I have no doubt that the USSR wants to establish its hegemony, just as Hitler's Germany did back then.

Soviet Russia justifies this goal by what it considers a duty and a mission, that is to say, to bring "socialism" to all peoples of the so-called capitalist world. But in what way can Russia call itself socialist? Today, 67 years after the revolution, the living standard of the working masses over there is definitely lower than the living standard of the people who live on their work in the industrial countries of the West. Russia is forced to import considerable quantities of all kinds of materials, especially cereals, from the United States and other capitalist countries. Taking the satisfaction of the needs of the working strata into consideration, the Russian revolution has proved to be a failure.

In the political field, the inequalities between the class in power and the working classes are greater than in the Western countries. One can hardly call a country democratic which does not permit its citizens to exercise the right to vote, except through a single party. As far as human rights are concerned, they are simply ignored in the USSR.

In military terms however the USSR is in the process of acquiring a position of military supremacy in the European theater.

This superiority should make us tremble but the socialist parties in our countries—instead of agreeing to the joint organization, with all of our partners, of a deterrent force, capable of holding the expansionist designs of the USSR in check—are dreaming of negotiating with the USSR. Of course, one should negotiate but not from a position of weakness because then everything would be lost. It took 7 years of war, concentration and extermination camps, massacres of all kinds to overcome the terrible results of negotiations conducted at Munich from a position of weakness. There are mistakes which one cannot afford to make twice.

The socialists—and I am one of them—are currently invoking their aversion against war and their pacifism to justify their opposition to any armament efforts. But, apart from some gun merchants, who in the democratic

countries is not pacifist? I would like to believe that even in the socalled communist countries the vast majority of citizens shares our fear and our aversion regarding war. The misfortune is that, in those countries, the voice of the pacifists carries no weight.

On the other hand, the leaders of the USSR encourage the pacifists in our countries because they are opposed to setting up a striking force comparable to theirs.

That also reminds me of the actions taken by the agence of Hitler who, between 1933 and 1940, went about their business in our political circles to preach "neutralism" as being, according to them, our only chance to protect ourselves against the war that was in the offing.

I have no doubt that the Soviet Embassy is today doing the same kind of work to undermine our spirit as was done by the Embassy of Germany during the years prior to the war. Let us hope that the lesson of the past will not be forgotten. Our liberty and our independence are at stake.

5058 CSO:3100 ANTI-AIRCRAFT DEFENSE TACTICS, EQUIPMENT DISCUSSED

Paris DEFENSE INTERAMEES in French Jun 80 pp 16-23

[Article by G. Turbe]

[Text] Surface-to-Air Artillery, as poor a relation of the French army as they come, has undertaken during the past several years already a vast modernization program which concerns both the improvement of existing material (Hawk) and the production of completely new systems (Roland).

It was time! Confronted with the development of the Third Dimension threat (high manoeuvrability of aircraft, considerable increase in their speed, the use of missile-carrying helicopters), the equipment available, and more especially short range weapons only made it possible for the Surface-to-Air Artillery to fulfill imperfectly its general mission which consists of assuring the ground forces' freedom of action by destroying or neutralizing to the maximum extent enemy aviation before it attacked.

The study of former conflicts shows that neutralizing the air threat above a disposition made it possible, to a large extent, to abort the attack, or at least to limit its effects.

In order to carry out its mission, the Surface-to-Air Artillery will, in the long run, essentially make use of 3 types of systems:

- -- the Hawk, for medium range defense from very low to very high altitudes;
- -- the Roland (clear weather or all-weather) for a short range, low altitude zone defense;
- -- the 30 mm self-propelled Bitude [double barrel] for very short range and very low altitude protection of vulnerable points or of portions of routes.

Present formerly at the division and Army Corps echelons, the Surface-to-Air Artillery is, in the new structures, entirely regrouped at the Army Corps level which now represents the normal manoeuvre echelon.

In addition to making possible for the short range Surface-to-Air Regiments (formerly the Division Surface-to-Air Artillery Regiments) to pass from the tertiary to the quaternary structure already applicable to the other conflict and support units (resulting in a savings of non-combatant manpower), this organization permits a better distribution of means--which are limited--varying with needs and the general or specific situations.

The Field Forces Surface-to-Air Artillery Units (1st Army):

At the end of the program each one of the three Army Corps which the French army possesses will have organically available:

- -- one Hawk regiment (1st and 2nd AC)
- -- one Roland regiment
- -- one mixed Roland-30 mm Bitube Regiment

#### These involve

- a) For the 1st Army Corps:
- -- the 402nd Hawk Artillery Regiment (AR), stationed at Chalons Marne
- -- the 54th mixed Roland (2 batteries)-30 mm Bitube (one battery) stationed at Verdun ---. This regiment is in charge of the tactical testing of the new Roland weapons systems.
- -- the 57th AR stationed at Bitche, now being equipped. It presently includes 2 Roland batteries and 1 30-mm Bitube Battery.
- b) For the 2nd Army Corps:
- -- the 403rd Hawk AR stationed at Chaumont
- -- the 51st AR stationed at Wittlick (FRG)
- -- the 53rd AR stationed at Vieux Brisach.

These last two Regiments are always made up of one battery of 9 30-mm Bitubes and 2 batteries of 8 40-mm Bofors tracked guns.

- c) For the 3rd Army Corps:
- -- the 58th AR stationed at Douai, equipped, like the preceding, with 30-mm Bitubes and 40-mm Bofors guns.
- -- the 405th AR of 4 batteries of 8 40-mm Bofors guns stationed at Hyeres and subordinate during peacetime to the general commanding the Army Schools; on Mobilization it rejoins the 3rd AC.

d) The 401st AR stationed at Nimes; during peacetime it only has available 2 Firing Batteries, the other two being assigned to the Implementation School.

[page 18 chart, cf end of article]

Specifications and Capabilities of the Weapons Systems

#### a) The Hawk HIP

The Hawk HIP, of American origin, represents an improved version of the basic Hawk, put into service in France starting in 1964 and which had given full satisfaction to users by virtue of its performance.

Thanks to the adoption of an automatic information processing system which limits human intervention and a high performance, rapid-fire munition-missile, the new model makes it possible to increase the speed, the manoeurability and the destructive effectiveness of the missile, to reduce the period of time separating the acquisition of the firing (the reaction time to the first firing is 7 seconds instead of 30 previously), to increase the system's ability to detect various objectives, finally to improve the means of combating scrambling. The firing unit is a 2 platoon Battery with 3 triple mountings.

Each battery of the system is composed of the following essential elements:

- -- the Battery control center which includes various remote control (radar, computers, missile firings, IFF) visualization and establishment of liaison equpment;
- -- middle coverage and high altitude PAR [Precision Approach Radar] acquisition pulse radar (detection range up to 110 kilometers; altitude: 15 kilometers)
- -- the Doppler acquisition low coverage radar (CWAR 65 kilometer range)
- -- 2 illuminator radars (HPIR)
- -- remote control pulse radar (ROR) which keeps watch and only emits a brief instant when an illuminator radar is scrambled
- -- the Data Coordination Center which contains the electronic computer and the IFF.
- -- the 6 launching mountings.

The Regiment's Command Post includes a manual control center linked to the firing batteries by a very rapid automacic transmission system (transmission intervals: 74 milliseconds.)

Deployed in the field, the battery covers an area of from 10 to 12 bectares, the position of the combat train being 1 to 5 kilometers distant. The battery can handle 2 objectives simultaneously and fire several missiles at one identical target. The Regiment constitutes the normal functioning unit. It makes it possible to assure the anti-aircraft cover within a zone of 5,000 square kilometers (i.e. a radius of about 50 kilometers) at middle and high altitude which corresponds roughly to one-half of the zone occ pied by the Army Corps (50 to 100 kilometers wide by 150-200 kilometers deep on an average) and only 3 to 4,000 square kilometers maximum when the planes fly at low altitude.

The missile is capable of carrying out interceptions with a 40 kilometer range and at 18,000 meters altitude (as compared with 30 kilometers and 15,000 meters respectively for the basic lawk). It also offers excellent anti-helicopter capabilities.

The mountings' maximal firing cadence is one missile every 5 seconds. All total, the regiment has available a potential of 144 missiles (72 on ramps, 72 in reserve).

#### b) The Roland

There are two versions: the clear weather Roland 1, initially adopted by the French Army, and the all-weather Roland 2, which differ essentially by the presence, in the second case, of a fire-control radar.

The piece is the firing unit, it is composed of a firing vehicle and a support vehicle. An entirely self-contained and mobile system, the Roland groups together on the chassis: firing ramps, reserve munitions, fire control and implementation equipment, and the gun crew. The armored carrier chassis is derived from that of the AMX-30 tank, from which it borrows the principal mechanical components (engine, transmission, suspension, bogie, with, in addition, an electric generator driven by a 43 kw Gevaudan microturbo turbine already used to equip the Pluto).

It assures the system a road and cross-country mobility equal to that of the other tracked vehicles it supports. The acquisition, launching and guidance elements are housed in the turnet which revolves at 3600 and in the vehicle's solid stationary frame.

The turret houses the following components:

- -- a Doppler pulse watch radar (15 to 18 kilometer range) (antenna folded behind the turret in road position)
- -- a Doppler monopulse tracking radar (Ruland 2) 15 to 18 kilometer range)

- -- A G a 6 and a 12 telescopic might with integrated IR goniometer (in road position, protected by an armored shutter)
- -- a guldance data computer
- == the gunman's seat and console deak
- I mobile launching camps in place and automatically reloadable from within, carrying 2 missiles ready for firing.

In the frame are to be found:

- == 2 cylinders containing 4 missiles each
- == the electric energy source
- -- the tank commander's post with implementation control and exploitation consoles (PPI).

The system, of a total volume in combat readiness of about 33 tons, is served by a 3-man rrow (gunman in the turret, tank commander-radar operator right front and driver left front of the chassis).

The missile is delivered i. a launching tube used as a transport cylinder in munition form. It can var yout interceptions at a range of 6 kilomemters and at a. altitude of 3,000 memters. For firing at very low altitudes (less than 10-15 meters) the gunman has the possibility of neutralizing the homing missile before firing the missile.

This 4-piece section constitutes a working unit capable of defending efficaciously an average area of 100 square kilometers or 12 road kilometers. In practice, the firing positions of a section's tanks can be spaced about 3 kilometers apart--which makes possible a good overlapping of ranges. The system is likewise characterized by its resistance to electromagnetic and infrarouse counter-measures and its good intervention capacity against helicopters: the rate of fire reaches 4 rounds a minute and the re-engagement (in 10 seconds at most) of the same target is facilitated by the presence of 2 ready to fire missiles which are replaceable in several seconds.

The firing vehicles are accompanied by a VAB charged with transporting the replacement crew and assuring the close defense of the entire unit. For this purpose, it will later receive a turret armed with a 20 mm gun instead of the usual mounting which includes a light machine gun mounted on a swivel-ring.

All total 714 Roland firing posts will equip the 6 short range surface to air AR of the French army. Of this number, only 70 will be the all-weather version, but the passage from one version to another could take place without difficulty.

#### c) the pell-Propolled to MM Bltube

Placed in service starting in 1964, the 10 mm Bitube is a very short-range clear weather very low sittinde surface-to-air system.

As in the preceding case, the piece is the firing unit. It includes the nelf-propelled bitube and its support vehicle.

The firing vehicle consists of a lightly armored turret carried by a tracked chassis. It weighs 18 tons in combat readiness and carries a crew of 3 men (tank commander and gunsan in the turret, driver in the chassis). The chassis is that of the AMX-13 elongated and slightly modified, in particular by the reinforcement of the suspension and the clutch.

with the exception of the cruising range (260 kilometers instead of from 150 to 400 kilometers on the road; 7 hours instead of 9 hours cross-country) and the slope-climbing capacity (40 percent instead of 80 percent), the mobility performance is practically identical with that of the basic tank.

The S 401 A turret rotatable on 3600 has the following components:

- -- 2 HSS 731 A Hispano-Sulza 30 mm guns (effective range: 500 to 2,500 meters; effective ceiling: 1,500 meters; firing rate: 600 rounds a minute per weapon; duration of burst firing limited to 1,5 seconds or 30 rounds; munitions supply: 300 incendiary explosive shells per weapon; shell velocity: 1,000 meters per second; limit of sighting: -80 at + 850);
- -- a Doppler phased pulse radar;
- radar (assures detection up to 1,015 kilometers; facilitates the acquisition by making possible the quick rallying of the turret; supplies the computer continuously the distance of the objective between 3,800 and 500 meters; in road position, the radar antenna is shut up in an armored chest mounted on the rear of the turret.
- -- a G x 4 corrector telescopic sight connected to a simplified analogue computer which, in addition, receives telemetric information concerning the objective from the radar.

The support vehicle, in this case a tactical light truck carrying specifically a replacement crew, 600 supplementary rounds (time required to reload the bitube's ammunition-boxes: 15 minutes), an electric generator which supplies the current required to power the surveillance radar when the bitube's motor is stopped for a long period of time.

This material will equip, in 4 of the 6 Artillery Regiments, one battery of 4 sections with 3 pieces. Each section can defend a vulnerable point or a 3 kilometer stretch of road.

These latest systems to be introduced incontentably bring about a renewal of the Proof anti-aircraft defense thanks to their performance, their accuracy (the Nawk's probability of reaching the objective is 0,85, that of the Roland over 0,5), their excellent anti-helicopter capabilities which represent an increasingly serious threat [sic] and also their reduced testion time. In addition, and this is rather rare nowadays, they will make it possible to reach a high level of standardization in the West's atmics. These obvious improvements should not, however, overshadow the remaining weaknesses, we will point out in particular:

- the quantitative insufficiency of the means of anti-sircraft defense which will be given priority assignment to overall cover and protection of priority objectives. The & Hawk batteries IA 3-missile ramps), the 7 Roland batteries (% 2-missile firing posts) and the single battery of 30 cm bitubes (12 tanks) will only be used to partially rover the Army Corps' activity zone. Consequently, numerous corridor zones will remain without radar surveillance thus offering wide possibilities of very low altitude enemy aviation action. By way of comparison, the Soviet Army employs, in an approximately identical zone, on an average 17 medium or long range batteries, that is to say around 60 ramps supplied with about 160 missiles (%A-I, EA-4 and EA-6), around FO short range batteries (of 6 monotube or bitube guns of 57 mm each), around 50 very short range batteries (all total: 128 self-propelled ZEU-23 4 quatritubes, 114 tracked ZU-23 2 bitubes, 64 SA-9 missile-launching vehicles).
- b) The absence of a really suitable very short range specialized system. It course, the units will have available many 20 mm machine guns (close to 100 per DB, but only about 60 per DI) earmarked for battle against air targets as well as against ground objectives, but they are lacking the flexibility of a purtable system, which can be used from vehicles or on the ground. Furthernore, the weapons sounted on armored combat equipment (VIT tanks), will not always be capable of taking action under good conditions against aircraft! this is especially the case of contact vehicles placed in the front line, which are only to fulfill their ground mission. Moreover, we feel that the 20 cm calibre is no longer sufficient, in particular to fight assisst arms belimpters: a 25 or 30 mm calibre would more nearly meet current needs.
- The difference which exists between the objectives and the reality of the present mount—The As follows rests on the Hawk---Roland ---30 mm.

  Bitude triad, but is not be taken in by it! If the 30 mm Bitubes have been around for a long time, if all of the medium range units are now equipped with the Hawk Hip, this is far from being the case with the Roland. Presently, If3rds of one resiment and a fraction of a second belonging to the lat AC are equipped with this section. The others will have to make do, for many years yet (at least until 1901, taking into account planned deliveries), with tracted 40 mm guns which are now outdated,

## d) The Defects of the Hawk bysten

with a strike probability close to the unit, the Nawk is a frighteningly deadly weapon. This does not prevent it, however, from presenting some stave deficiencies.

The first and principal one concerns the time necessary for its deployment: they are so constituted that units equipped with them could only change position once a day. Bowever, in the case of a conflict in Europe, the cituation is likely to change quickly during one day of combat. The Regiment will, therefore, very often be forced to manosuvre in 2 echelons, one moving while the other is in firing position, which will limit all the more the immediate intervention capacities of the unit.

The second remark involves the protection of the whole. As the Regiment has no protected vehicle, it is very vulnerable to the effects of NBC or conventional weapons; it will have to spread out wide on the terrain in order not to be open to one massive strike.

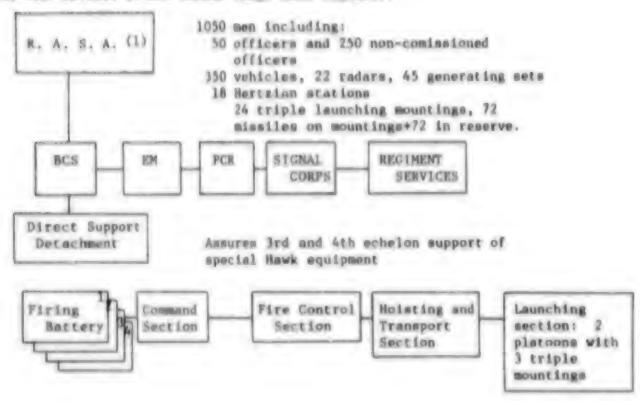
Consequently, it lacks transport and operational means comparable to the Soviet 5A-6 system or the Hawk system on tracked vehicles used by certain specialized American units.

2) The age of the 30 mm Bitube --- The introduction of a new system mounted on a modern chassis provided with a larger range and capable, at any exment, of entering into action without external support will soon prove to be necessary.

# [chart on page 18]

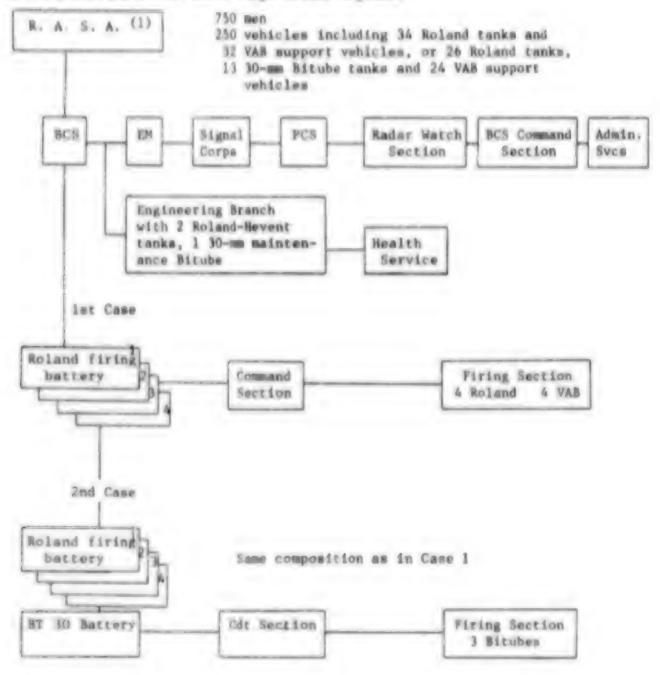
# Organization of the Units (definitive formula)

a) The Surface-to-Air medium range hawk Regiment:



(1) Surface-to-Air Artillery Regiment

# b) The burface-to-Air short range Roland Regiment



# (1) Surface-to-Air Artillery Regiment

9330 CSO: 3100

#### BRIEFS

NORDIC ELECTRICITY NET--Stockholm, 1 Aug--Denmark, Finland, and Sweden will save oil with a joint project of several billion kronor, consisting of a better connection of the countries' electricity nets. New cables will be installed between Denmark and Sweden, and between Sweden and Finland, according to TT [Swedish Central News Agency]. The planned energy axis Denmark-Sweden-Finland will not be used for regular import and export of electricity. With connections between the three countries the peak loads on the electricity nets can be reduced and the three countries can jointly reduce their dependence on oil. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 1 Aug 80 p 4] 9287

TURKISH, GREEK BOAT SERVICES--Turkish and Greek ferryboat services between Aybalik and the island Mitilini in Greece have begun. The ferryboats, which can carry up to 75 passengers and two cars, will be sailing on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The ferryboat which leaves Ayvalik at 0930 thrice weekly, departs from Mitilini for Ayvalik at 1630 the same days. Officials said that Greek boats are shuttling between Ayvalik and Mitilini on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

[Text] [TA091154 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1000 GMT 9 Aug 80]

CSO: 4907

COUNTRY SECTION AUSTRIA

GENERAL KUNTNER INTERVIEWED ON AUSTRIA'S DEFENSE POSTURE

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHE in German 23 Jul 80 p 15

[Interview with General of Armor Troops Wilhelm Kuntner, commander of the Austrian National Defense Academy, date and place not given, by Erich Gyeling, Mercel H. Keiser and Inge Santner]

[Text] General Wilhelm Kuntner, one of Austria's leading military figures, is of the opinion that the Soviet threat to Yugoslavia has by no means been banished. In the following interview with Erich Gysling, Marcel H. Keiser and Inge Santner, he explains his country's military concept in the face of an unstable international situation.

As a general of armor troops and commandant of the Austrian National Defense Academy, Wilhelm Kuntner trains the future military leaders of Austria. Because of its geographic location, the Austrian military establishment analyzes the military situation between Fast and West very carefully. Wilhelm Kuntner, born 1916, was first a cavalry and then an armor trooper. In 1938 he was accepted by the German Wehrmacht. He has been helping rebuild the Austrian federal army since 1952 and has been gromoted to three-star general. He figured prominantly as a spokesman for the neutrals at the CSCE conferences in Helsinki and Belgrade.

.unstion Do you now consider the danger banishe that the oviets will seek to exect tracers on the est through Yugoslevia after fite's death.

insert This will decend largely on the consolidation process in Yugo-slavia after Tito. I do not believe that a supercover can allow itself to use force against an internally united state out of a clear blue sky in a time of relative meace. I recognize, however, that there are in Yugoslavia forces of both the left and right who would like to disturb the integration process carried so far by Tito. In the long or short

term a personality will arise from the present collective leadership and it will then be a question of how capable this personality is of making a unity out of this really difficult to rule multinational state.

The Coviet Union has, for its part, an interest in revoking the disintegration process accomplished by Tito in 1748. This for surely ideological reasons. If there had been no Tito, there would be no Eurocommunism
today. The Tito model has also had widereaching consequences: a state
that has remained communist but no longer acknowledges the hegemony of
the Kremlin. Even if I see no present immediate danger of a military conflict, I still maintain that the Soviet threat to Yugoslavia has by no
means been banished.

"Question What is the military reaction of neutral and geographically excessed Austria to the more critical international situation?

[Answer] We are attempting to meet our neutrality obligations with the available meens. The Austrian concept of area defense has really nothing to do with guerilla or partisan warfare...

[Question] With a falsely interpreted Spannocchi doctrine?

[Answer] General Spannocchi developed his ideas at a time when the discussion in Austria was between the extreme positions of mini or maxi armed forces. Je were looking for a model and General Spannocchi provided an impetus that the model valid today also needed. Bur present model is not all that different from the Swiss one — except that we have only a battalion where you have a regiment.

But there is a problem that results when one moves from a standing to a militia army end thus has to overcome the enormous difficulty of the replacement structure. Our birthrate amounts to only 40,000 men per year. It can be calculated on this basis how long it will take to reach 37,49 men — and that would still be only half of what Switzerland has.

In our concept it is not so much a question of defending the Grossglockner and the main ridge of the Alps as maintaining neutrality. Hence also the goal of making enemy passage more difficult. It is not a secret that we would have liked to have made more progress in achieving our goals. By 1996 we will have reached only an intermediate stage of 186,000 men.

[Luestion] A question. International law obligates the neutral to do everything in his power to protect himself. Is Austria actually doing everything reasonable or are you not perhaps simply spenning a tripwire that is stretched militarily in front of NATO?

Answer The question is how reasonableness is defined. There is the international standard which says to make efforts comparable to those of states with similar structures. Austria disburses 3.9 percent of its

national product as a vardatiok. Here suitzerland spends 2 percent for its military protection and Austria 1.1 percent. As compared with switzerland, we are 5 percent below the international standard but suitzerland is 50 percent below the standard as compared with sweden.

e are certainly below the international standard when the neutral states of Lugure are compared. I am certainly not satisfied with this but, as an Austrian, I must say here: Switzerland was able to spend a great deal between the two world wars whereas we had to rebuild after World War II in a totally destroyed country that, moreover, was occupied for 10 years. There were also obstacles against a too rapid approach to the international standard.

It is regrettable but also a fact that the state shows no readiness to spend more for its life and survival insurance. As a general I can only say: I believe we must do more but I have to acknowledge the primacy of politics so long as politics allows me to draw attention to the fact that it seems too little to me.

Luestion de are, of course, familiar with the restrictions placed on Austria by the State Treaty. Is an army which has not a single antitank missile, not a single antiaircraft missile, which flies Saab-105 aircraft and, moreover, doesn't even defend its airspace really credible?

I have often expressed the opinion that certain of the limitations placed on us are no longer tenable today. But, so long as politics believes that these must be maintained, the coal of defense should not be abandoned for the duration. But defense under these restricted conditions costs more—in terms of people. But the responsibility for this must be borne by those who make the decisions. It is my responsibility to then point out that I must use more people for the defensive shield.

Tuestion Is Austria making efforts to revise the crucial Article 13 of the State Treaty?

insuer I do not believe that it requires revision. Nor do I believe that it requires any special interpretation on our part. Historical research and the actual behavior of our treaty partners (the Seviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France) show far more that they really did not intend that which we deny ourselves today. The incriminating Article 13 stems from the years 1946/1947 when the first peace treaties — with Finland, Romania, Italy and then later with Hungary — were negotiated. These weapon restrictions are of English principles and ques with a range over 30 kilometers. This is generally a reflection of the English experience in Torld Mar II, the V weapon attacks...

Tuestion Iddly enough, you then received Czech rocket launchers despite this...

Answer! Forrect. To once purchased from one of our treaty partners a weepon system that could well have been questioned, given a literal interpretation of the State Treaty. But there is more to this. All the states named, which we the same restrictions as we do, have been provided battle-field weapon systems by the treaty partners. Finland, for example, today has both Russian and British guided weapons.

To me this means nothing more and nothing less than that we can also procure these systems — otherwise the others have already violated the treaty. But since I do not wish to impute this, it is perfectly clear to me what we may and may not have. But this remains a political decision which I do not have to make.

I restion | You previously mentioned the problem of wishful thinking. Isn't the discussion about aircraft procurement also driven by wishful thinking? First Sustria wanted the Israeli Kfir, then the Swedish Viqqen, then the French Mirage-50 and finally the American F-16 and that always in the really impressive quantity of 24 aircraft. Given an operational readiness of 60 percent, you could have, under the most favorable circumstances, 15 machines in the air and these, moreover, inadequately armed because of the missile prohibition in the State Treaty.

[Answer] I am not assuming that the new aircraft will be delivered with a slingshot. The desired 24 aircraft could undertake an air police mission in a protection of neutrality case, that is, where war was being waged in a neighboring area without Austria being drawn in. I am thinking of a situation comparable to that of Switzerland during World War II.

For this case we need an outstanding airspace surveillance system — which is now available. The Austrian "Gold Helmet" system is one of the most moment in the world — and, incidentally, largely equipped with Swiss electronics. What is still lacking is the interceptor which will permit us to not only monitor the movements of a rotential aggresso; but also to demonstrate that we are not inclined to accept violations of our neutrality.

I fourt that a small country like Austria would be able to keen airstace from if it were a case of attack by ground. In my opinion the intercentor is thus deliberately intended to preserve our neutrality. At that moment when neutrality is last due to appression, we have practically no more need of the 24 intercentors or we could operate them for only one day.

unstion And what aircraft will you now really buy?

the Ffir has been dropped for political reasons, the Viggen is a larger feasible for economic reasons and it is a design largely configure to the permitted situation of Sweden. There remain the Mirage and the F-16 with the latter being favored by our experts because it is, in their opinion, an aircraft that can be operated into the next decade.

System operated in Switzerland. Doesn't coupling the two systems seem very attractive and enticing? Switzerland could then look 1,000 kilometers farther to the East.

This is a question for international law. I see absolutely no problem in peacetime. The question is far more one of whether Switzerland would have problems if, for example, Austria became involved in a war and your country would then nibble at the information of a combatant. In general I regard a coupling as attractive for intensifying the cooperation of both neutral alpine republics.

Guestion A few years ago the malicious headline "Does Switzerland Border on Guesia?" appeared in the WELTWOCHE. The headline and the article created a considerable stir in Austria. How would you answer the question today?

Answer: Suitzerland does not border on Russia. Switzerland has far more against Austria. If the Soviet Union occupies Austrian territory in a larger conflict or, what is less likely, Austria is the target of an attack, your country would have more than enough time to become mobilized. Although it would certainly be difficult to defend western Austria over a long period, the fact remains that topography increasingly becomes helpful further west. But even if Austria is not defended, you by no means well border on Russia. The marching time of an armor formation from Vienna to Feldkirch should not be underestimated.

6773

COUNTRY SECTION BELGIUM

PSC HOLDS STATUTORY CONGRESS BEHIND CLOSE" DOORS

CEPIC Left Weakened

Brussels SPECIAL/L'EVENTAIL in French 4 Jul 80 p 7

[Text] It was behind closed doors that the PSC [Christian Social Party] held its statutory congress last Saturday. A congress from which the CEPIC [Political Center of Christian Independents and Cadres] emerged contrite, weakened by the authoritarian aims of Christian democracy. A last straw!

To the great surprise of much of the world, the statutory congress of the PSC took place behind closed doors last Saturday. But the committee director stuck to his guns.

And with good reason. In the ranks of the CEPIC the maneuver was understood. And their fears turned out to be justified: whereas the DC [expansion unknown] already has 13 deputies our of 25, against 5 for the CEPIC, the right wing of the PSC sees itself with its wings cut off again. "Where the CEPIC had the majority it lost it, and where it was a minority it is going to stay," one of its disabused members cried. The congress only served to "stereotype" existing situations and prevented the CEPIC's democratic thrust. In fact, everything began badly, since it was the committee director who had decired unilaterally to hold the congress behind closed doors. Then things turned sour at the time of the discussion on regulating the congress. A two-thirds majority was needed to reject the articles, while a simple majority was declared enough to pass them. For a congress that gathered 250 people who were supposed to represent 50,000, this is not what might be called a democratic principle.

That said, three elements are worth pinning down: all immigrants will be able to vote in the party the same as Belgians since the CEPIC amendment which decreed the enjoyment of civil and political rights and the spirit of reciprocity among the Nine through the medium of the European Popular Party was rejected.

Then, there is the method of voting within the party. Whereas the CEPIC was proposing "one member, one vote," the committee director preferred the

tormula of the authorized vote for one quarter of the seats to be filled. It was futile to say that this would be a free-for-all. Sensing the malaise, VDB [Vanden Boeynants] suggested the middle road--that is to say, the vote for one third of the seats to be filled. A waste of time; he was roughly brought down a peg or two by Gust Bruart (after a promise by Charles F. Nothomb applied by VDB), who is replacing Fernand Herman in the Parliament. And who, for the record, did not gather 100 votes the only time he stood for elections, the Soignie communals.

Shattered by the brutality of his speech, VDB almost swallowed his pipe and sat down again, letting the committee director's proposal pass. The chairman of the congress, coopted Senator Dieudonne Andre, also took a position against his national president's proposal!

On the other hand, it was the PSC president's turn to get up and reprimand the people he was speaking to when the proposal was made by the Social Christian Youth to forbid the combining of the mandate of burgomaster of a commune of more than 30,000 inhabitants with that of a deputy. This was a matter of defending the interests of all the big shots and the people instead of the party.

Parochial quarrels, quarrels over interests, it may in fact have been better that the PSC had washed its dirty linen in the bosom of its family; closed doors, after the event, are justified if the PSC wants to preserve its distinguished image.

Vanden Boeynants Contradicts Report

Brussels SPECIAL/L'EVENTAIL in French 25 Jul 80 pp 9-10

[Text] Paul Vanden Boeynants, the president, has taken the trouble of filling in our information. Here is what he wrote.

In its No 27, under the title "The Justification for Closed Doors," your weekly published a report of the PSC's statutory congress. This report of a meeting that your writers did not attend is based on information that contains such inaccuracies that I cannot, out of respect for your readers, let them pass without correction.

I will limit myself to the main point: the article begins by reproaching the committee director of the PSC for having decided unilaterally to hold the congress behind closed doors. Such a decision is the exclusive prerogative of the committee director; it was taken unanimously without objection from anyone.

Consequently I have trouble seeing what blame can be placed on the committee director for having made that choice that had nothing special about it, for it is generally this procedure that is chosen in all parties for congresses of this kind.

it also objected to the fact that the articles were to obtain a two-thirds majority to be rejected, while to have them accepted the simple majority was declared sufficient. This is the apposite of the truth. In fact the two-thirds majority was required in both cases, the statutes being definite in this respect and requiring this majority.

Here, too, I do not see what blame can be placed on the committee director.

Your article continues by asserting, "Whereas the CEPIC was proposing 'one member, one vote,' the committee director preferred the formula of the authorized vote for one quarter of the mandates to be filled. I have the impression that very few of your readers will understand what that statement intended to say!

Consequently I am stating exactly what was involved: let us state first of all that the CIPIC proposed nothing at all, for the very good reason that the CIPIC has nothing to propose as such in a PSC congress, any more than the Christian Democracy does, it is the districts that make the proposals. The Brussels district, partly supported by the Liege district, was proposing that for every election at whatever level, the members be able to vote for as many candidates as there are mandates to be filled.

You do not have to be a great specialist to understand that such a procedure runs counter to the very spirit in which all of our country's political institutions operate. In fact, the rule of proportional representation is a golden rule in Belgium. The proposal made by the Brussels district would have made it possible, by forming a "Stemblok" (a grouping of votes) to exclude from representation all those who do not belong to a group, a majority in the place where an election is taking place, even though that majority is only be present. Such a procedure would be the negation of a democratic representation and would result in causing intolerable situations in most of the districts.

Consequently the committee director was proposing that voters be able to vote for II percent of the mandates to be filled, making it possible both to ensure a majority representation and misority representation; it seems obvious to me that this system is much more equitable.

It is also true that for the purpose of reconciliation I asked the assembly to let me file an amendment changing the proportion from 25 percent to 33 percent.

That proposal was rejected. Why? Because it was contrary to the regulations of the congress, I knew it and that is really why I asked for a dispensation. I repeat that this dispensation was rejected, but it was rejected chiefly because, at the request of the liege district, another dispensation request of the same kind had been rejected shortly before. This has nothing to do with an opposing group, but quite simply expresses the application of the rule: regulations must be enforced, even when the president is involved.

iou really must admit that this is very different from what your informant reported to you.

linally, your article blames me for having reprimanded the young Social Christians for having proposed that a burgomaster or deputy burgomaster of a commune of over 50,000 inhabitants be forbidden to hold the office of deputy as well.

Here again the truth is very different. In fact, I recalled that already, five years at the Spa Congress, we had pronounced ourselves in favor of a law providing for interdiction of such double office-holding. But I added that if we were in favor of that law, it seemed to me useless to impose such an interdiction on our representatives as long as the same rule did not apply to everyone, that is to say provided for by law.

Can anyone decently object to my having adopted such an attitude, when it was approved almost unanimously by the delegates?

8946

CSO: 3100

COUNTRY SECTION

#### FARMERS DEMONSTRATE OVER WORSENING ECONOMIC PLIGHT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Jul 80 p 3

Article by Adrup: "Foolish To Let Farmers Down; 'We Will Return With Manure Spreaders'"

Text? "Foolish the Country Which Lets Its Farmers Down" goes a good old saying. On Friday it was chanted in chorus by thousands of marching Danish farmers at Axel Square, where the organizations of the principal Danish industry have their headquarters at Axelborg.

It was still a well-behaved protest against the devastating conditions under which Danish agriculture is laboring -- high loan interest rates and low export prices, with bankruptcies, foreclosure auctions and personal tragedies as a result.

A verbal protest, but look out, if there isn't rapid change we will return with tractors and manure spreaders and block the whole City Hall Square, threatened a few voices in the farmers' march.

Denmark's farmers are on the warpath. The auctions have already begun. Earlier this week farmers in Jutland boycotted their own dairies and cooperative slaughterhouses. The prices received are actually so low that it doesn't matter whether the milk is disposed of on the farm or transported to the dairy.

For this Sunday there is talk about a big action that will be able to focus all eyes in Denmark on the farmers' plight. A militant wing within the "LR 80," which is the designation for the agricultural reform movement, wants to block the Storstrom Bridge with tractors and farming machinery. That is where the stream of tourists to and from the Continent flows. So it would be noticeable, to say the least, if the farmers caused an obstruction in the middle of the weekend traffic.

LR 80 is thus a protest movement within the farmers' organizations. It already numbers 3,000 members -- and at least that many sympathizers -- mostly young farmers, who are losing confidence in the ability of their own representatives to convince government and Parliament of the plight of farming.

For it is a genuine emergency situation for thousands of young Danish farmers who have taken out loans, made large investments and are now burdened with interest rates up to 25 percent. As late as last year it was possible to balance the operational deficit with inflation. The farms were constantly impressing in value due to the decreasing monetary value. You could go to the bank, get another couple of hundred thousand and continue in business.

No. that doesn't work any longer. There is no more money to be had at the bank. Many young farmers are threatened by ruin.

Many have already thrown in the towel. Farms are auctioned off at foreclosure sales while others try to postpone the inevitable by slaughtering their animal stocks. Rumors are spreading -- and they are not only rumors -- of suicides and despair among Denmark's once so prosperous farmers.

All of this is a result of Denmark's extremely poor financial situation and of competition on the joint European market, where Danish farmers must offer their bacon and cheese in fierce competition.

The young Danish farmers who are gathered in LR 80 want rapid aid in the form of interest rate relief, a halt to foreclosure auctions and subsidised fodder for the animals before the situation becomes totally catastrophic.

These were the decands with which the marching farmers in the end pushed all the way in to the president of Danish agriculture H. O. Kjeldsen and said that now you have got to sit down tomorrow and "talk to Anker." Otherwise we can't be responsible for what will happen.

11949 CSO: 3109 COUNTRY SECTION DENMARK

WILHELM ULRICHSEN, UN AMBASSADOR, COMMENTS ON CRITICISMS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 18 Mar 80

[Article by Birgit Rasmussen]

[Text | Denmark's ambassador to the United Nations, Wilhelm Ulrichsen, comments on statements about the organization's "powerlessness and loss of prestige."

At the moment there is a lot of talk about the "powerlessness of the United Nations" and of its loss of prestige especially in connection with the fruitless trips to Iran first by Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and then by the five-man UN commission. Denmark's ambassador to the United Nations, Wilhelm Ulrichsen, made these comments during a visit to Copenhagen.

"It is unrealistic to think that the United Nations can guarantee peace and justice on earth. Some people say that the 'United Nations can't do anything.' No, the United Nations can't do anything if member lands don't want it to but if there is enough interest among them, things do happen. As in the case of Afghanistan when a number of countries that usually vote along with the Soviet Union reacted very strongly to the invasion. There were 104 countries voting for the resolution condemning that action. This must have been a sharp reminder to the Soviet Union that it cannot do anything it wants to. It is true that the Soviets are not withdrawing their troops immediately, but I personally do not doubt that they will try to find some way to resolve the situation they created themselves. It is generally agreed that the broad and violent reaction must have come as a shock to the decision-makers in the Kremlin.

Weldheim and Iran

"We simply can't do without the United Nations, among other things in its capacity as a forum where countries can present their grievances in situations in which they would otherwise have to flex their muscles. When one has an opportunity to look into it one is very impressed by the positive things that can be done in this cooperation among 152 nations with different cultural patterns, historical backgrounds and levels of development. In addition one learns tolerance toward ways of thinking and reacting different from one's own. For example we have seen that the whole pattern of the crisis in Iran is quite different from what we would expect in our part of the world. By our standards atrange things are happening there but they are not at all strange by the standards of those who live in that area.... As in the case of the UN commission going to Iran in the belief that there was an agreement in existence, which it turned out there was not, and Khomeyni's behavior in general and a foreign minister who says one can do this and that, but then...."

Are there limits to how tolerant the United Nations can be without losing too much prestige? Some people found it humiliating, for example, that the secretary general went to Iran and didn't even get to talk to Khomeyni.

"We have to be a little careful. It is not the United Nations that has lost face here. The United Nations is being used as a tool to solve a matter the strongest military powers in the world have been unable to solve. The United Nations has been given a role to play because the United States wanted to bring the matter up before "I bodies. And one must look at the goal—to get the hostages released. Waldheim became personally involved in the matter because he was urged to do so. No one else could be found who could take on this extremely thankless job which was terribly risky for him in terms of prestige as well as personal safety. There is no doubt that his life was in danger. But he does not regard his trip there as a fiasco. He came in contact with many people, especially Bani Sadz and others on the Revolutionary Council.

"When I talked to him recently after the return of the study commission I actually expected him to be quite depressed but a measure of confidence prevailed--siso among members of the commission. A feeling that the ice had been broken, that this was just a step and that more would follow.... Besides, it is now clear that the hostages are no longer being used primarily against the United States and the shah but in an internal power struggle."

American Misunderstanding

How did people in the United Nations react when the United States recently "defected" from its vote in the Security Council against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank?



Ambassador Wilhelm Ulrichsen: "The United Nations can't do anything unless member lands want it to. But if their interest is strong enough something happens."

"The President has clearly indicated that this was a misunderstanding and I believe him. We all make mistakes. But one might ask why the United States is making such a point of this instead of simply saying that it was an error and nothing could be done about it. Of course there are important political considerations behind this. The decisive factor might be that Israel's strong reaction was threatening the continuation of negotiations on autonomy on the West Bank. And at the moment one sees Carter presented almost daily in New York as the 'President who created peace.' His main peace initiative was Camp David and if that doesn't get any further he will be in a difficult situation which other presidential candidates could make use of."

Among the vital issues to be discussed in the United Nations in the future Ambassador Wilhelm Ulrichsen stressed the proposal from the non-aligned nations for a global round of discussions on a new world economic system.

"The preparations are under way and the idea is that a decision can be made on arrangements for this international round of talks at the extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly in August-September dealing with economic issues. And there are certainly people on both sides who are now using all their influence to sabotage these talks.... Some take the position that 'if we now achieve some modest results through such a round of talks we will lose the revolutionary thrust.' And others, on the other hand, would say: 'Let's just go along and make sure we throw some sand in the machinery. We might have to throw a few bones to the poverty-stricken regions somewhere along the way, but otherwise we'll manage.'

"Most of the participants probably lie in between these two totally opposed points of view. They realize it is necessary to make changes and want to comply with the wishes and demands of the impoverished developing countries as much as possible. But taking into account their own traditional interests at the same time. No government in a western industrialized nation can allow itself to make sweeping concessions that might lead to work stoppages. That is a political reality."

6578 CSO: 8113/1567 B COUNTRY SECTION

BACKGROUND ON MORO INVESTIGATION, TERRORIST INDICTMENTS

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 27 Jul 80 p 13

[Article by Mario Scialoja: "Meanwhile, Those of '7 April'"]

[Text] The massive political-judicial investigation of "7 April" seems to have entered its last phase. The final interrogators of various defendants have begun their turn. Some of the defendants had protested for some time that they were "forgotten" in prison. Last week Oreste Scalzone was heard once again. The magistrates charged him with complicity in the burglary of the Varesino Credit Institution of Medano Olona in March 1973. According to what Fioroni is reported to have heard, the burglary was said to have been carried out by men belonging to the Scalzone organization." The defendant vigorously denied this and asked to be confronted by Fioroni. He recalled the testimony of one of the burglars, Domenico Zinga, who said he had acted alone. The Roman magistrates indicated their intention of "closing the investigation as soon as possible." Meanwhile, with the release of Franco Piperno and Lanfranco Pace, the number of those released rose to 10. But the important point is something else.

After charges were dropped against Toni Negri and Piperno in connection with the Moro crime none of the "7 April" defendants is any longer charged with kidnaping and murder of the Christian Democratic President. However, 14 of them have been accused of having promoted armed insurrection against the state through the adoption and implementation of criminal programs designed to violently subvert republican institutions, to damage the economy, to provoke civil war." A first contradiction in the charge is this: "Two of the principal persons charged with insurrection were found not to be responsible for the episode which was to have represented the high point of the alieged insurrection (of of its 'preparation')."

In fact, the mysterious crime of "insurrection" (Article 284 of the Penal Code, which carries a life sentence), which is the focal point of the investigation structure, is the center of conflict between the investigators and the defendants. Investigating Counsel Achille Callucci seized on the occasion of a new arrest warrant to make a resume of the situation of the entire Moro investigation, "7 April," and various side issues. In a 27-page

report, ne explained that the charges of complicity in crimes are subdivided into three groups of increasing gravity: The accusation of complicity in subversion (first Potere Operaio, and then "others connected with the Autonomia Operaia organization"); the accusation of establishing an armed group (the defendants and those suspected total 52); and finally the accusation of "armed insurrection" which ties the group of 7 April and 21 December defendants to the Brigade members accused of the Moro crime (Alunni, Azzolini, Gallinari, Farando, Morucci, etc.).

The first to reply to this accusatory organizational chart of Callucci were lawyers Giuliano Spazzali and Bruno Leuzzi, Negri's attorneys. They filed a long patition for release from prison to the investigating office "due to a lack of evidence restricted to the crime of armed insurrection." They start with the premise that Callucci was the only person to be aware of this alleged insurrection promoted from 1971 to 6 April 1979 in Italy. Was there an insurrection? Is there evidence that would have led to the belief that such an insurrection could explode? Did the Autonomia area have the means, and did it deploy the activities necessary, to plan for conditions of an insurrection? The lawyers answer no to these questions and to many others.

Negri's lawyers point to other "contradictions." According to Callucci's reconstruction, armed insurrection was supposed to have been promoted by persons who often did not know each other, or who had not met for years, or whose political positions were notoriously in bitter conflict: "It remains extremely difficult, therefore, to identify the common element of a single will deployed for the purpose of promoting insurrection." Then they observe that the judicial authorities had never charged the Red Brigades with the crime of insurrection, not even those Brigade members accused of the Moro crime, until Negri and those of "7 April" arrived on the scene: "Must we believe that the plan for insurrection was made real and dangerous not by the Red Brigades but by the Autonomists?"

We described the crime of armed insurrection as mysterious because no jurisprudence applies to it: The charge has never been made from the postwar period to date, either against the members of the Brigade, the Borghese or Di Lorenzo promoters of a coup, or against the conspirators of "Rosa dei venti" [literally, Compass Card]. The definition by Zingarelli [dictionary] is "collective uprising against the constituted authorities of the state." The Larousse Encyclopedia says: "Armed uprising against the state by citizens." In order for the crime to exist there must be a collective insurrection involving the entire national territory or there must be the real "danger" that this can happen. Therefore, according to the most authoritative commentators, popular consensus is necessary. In 1923 and 1926, the fascist court tried exiled communists in France and those who carried out clandestine activities in Italy on charges of insurrection. They were cleared of the charges because it was determined that they did not have the necessary means and lacked necessary popular consensus.

It is difficult to think that the Brigade members or the Autonomiats, independent of any other consideration, can gather the popular consensus necessary for insurrection. It is also difficult to believe that all that happened in Italy from 1968 to 1979 can be inserted into a single plan by a few brains working toward a general insurrection. How can the dozens of extraparliamentary groups, the thousand rivulets of contestation, the "hundred flowers" of terrorism, the plant pickets, the "autoriduzioni"-unilateral reduction (by user) of payment (for a public service) [as part of the strategy offensive against the "imperialist" state], the murderers of policemen and of magistrates be included in a single project, so subterranean as to appear invisible? Some involved in the work observed that the prosecuting magistrates themselves know that there will be no conviction for armed insurrection and that for various defendants the crime will be removed from the charges at the moment the case is bound over for trial. Then why resort to it? For the moment, this charge has a contrived function: Allowing 9 years of preventative imprisonment serves to buy time. It could be the prototype of a new category, that of the "parking" charges.

6034

COUNTRY SECTION ITALY

SUMMARY OF DALLA CHIESA TESTIMONY ON ANTITE' JRIST EFFORT

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 27 Jul 80 pp 10-13

[Article by Alessandro de Feo: "I, General Della Chiesa, Declare That..."]

[Text] Rome-He appeared in a blue suit, matching tie and light shirt. He spoke uninterruptedly, with hardly a pause, for almost 3 hours. Then for another 8 1/2 hours he answered questions put to him by committee members. The total time stretched from 1630 Tuesday 8 July to 0300 the following day. Thus, in the presence of the Parliamentary Committee investigating the Moro case, the commander of the Pastrengo Division, Gen Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa, opened and emptied his "secret files." He gave a really complete, documented report on the subversive phenomenon: The composition of the so-called armed party, its origins, its finances, its level of infiltration in the principal Italian cities, and then, the problem of the "grand old man" of international affairs, and, naturally, the Moro case. Let us begin with the map that Dalla Chiesa drew of the "cities of terror."

The Genoa Case.

General Dalla Chiesa feels the Ligurian capital is an obligatory point of reference for an analysis of the phenomenon of terrorism. Dalla Chiesa said that at Genoa there is a sort of large "subversion club," which comprises the most varied social strata (from the subproletariat to the angry tradeunionist to the professional, to the intellectual...) and which goes so far as to count on the benevolence of financially powerful groups. This sociocultural milieu has ramifications in some sections of "upper" Genoa. In this regard, Dalla Chiesa mentioned Nicolina Costa (daughter of the deceased shipowner Angelo Costa and sister of Giacomo) who married Peppino Orlando, 45, professor of philosophy, from the Catholic community of Oregina, who later joined the PCI [Italian Communist Party]. In 1975, he was elected Provincial Councillor as a member of that party, and now he is in polemics with that party from unorthodox leftist positions. Thus, the great families have their heretical names. But even the Curia and Confindustria, Dalla Chiesa said, made room for subversion: For example by financing a center of social studies from which later emerged the postgraduate institute for the training of plant managers. He said this was a catchall for not a few subversives.

The Turin Situation.

General Dalla Chiesa gave a briefer summary concerning the Piedmont capital. He recalled that at Turin the armed party counts upon a strong worker presence and he added that in many plants terrorism enjoyed complicity and protection. Today, however, the principal units are in a state of crisis. Thanks to the good work of the Special Antiterrorism Nuclei they have suffered harsh blows: Prima Linea has been virtually routed, while the Red Brigades are semidecapitated, particularly after the arrest of the two "military leaders" Peci and Micaletto.

The Milan Situation.

Dalla Chiesa explained that in Milan the armed party still has a solid organization. In addition to direct violence, it effectively practices indirect violence: A sort of "capillary intimidation" which is not to be underestimated. At this point Dalla Chiesa spoke of the murder of Walter Tobagi, a CORRIERE DELLA SERA newspaperman, a man for whom he had great esteem and affection. The Tobagi murder, avenged by the "28 March Brigade," Dalla Chiesa said, had very depressing effects on the press. The general believes that many newspapermen, at one time seriously concerned with terrorism, began to practice self-censorship following the Tobagi murder to the point that they no longer were concerned with terrorism, or they dealt with it too cautiously. The general, finally, did not overlook the fact that the terrorists may have had accomplices in some editorial offices, particularly "certain reporters," of CORRIERE DELLA SERA and even other newspapers.

The Padua Situation.

Dalla Chiesa said that the Padua subversive group did not restrict itself to theorizing about armed struggle but decisively organized and implemented it. After having cited many Padua defendants "who are now talking," Dalla Chiesa said their confessions indicate direct responsibilities of certain so-called "master planners." He said that University Prof Toni Negri certainly is neither a leader nor supporter of the Red Brigades, and neither are Scalzone and Piperno. However, one of them even had "operational" ties with the heads of the terrorist units, for example, with the leader of Prima Linea, Corrado Alunni.

Daila Chiesa concluded that the "Padua phenomenon" was favored by the submissive and superficial attitude of the authorities, particularly of academic authorities in addition to the aggressiveness of the subversive party.

The Cosenza Situation.

Even here, and even to a greater extent, there has been considerable acquiescense by the authorities, Dalla Chiesa said, beginning with the rector of the University of Cosenza. The rector tolerated the subversive

phenomenon to the point that the university was transformed into an arena for subversive activity. Of 400 professors, 30 to 40 had ties with the subversive movement. Dalla Chiesa cited some foreign professors, and particularly a weman, who had fairly large bank accounts, who carried out subversive activities and whose personal papers contained compromising material. And he recalled that the organization "Primi fuochi di guerriglia" [First Guerrilla Shots] (that of Fiora Pirri Ardizzone) one of the original nuclei of southern terrorists, was created at Cosenza. Dalla Chiesa then said he sent a full report on the Cosenza situation to the local prosecutors, but it was given no consideration.

The Matrix of Terrorism.

Where was Italian terrorism born? What are its components? For Dalla Chiesa, the matrices of terrorism are to be found above all in the neo-Leninist wing of the Movement of '77, and in the earlier Marxist-Leninist groups of a pro-Mao tendency or of an extremist Catholic tendency (Sebregondi). A further component that is not to be underestimated is that of the "Stalinist veterans," mature persons, and at times persons with good contacts (with "support" for example, in the Historical Institute of the Resistance) who fought in the Resistance but later felt they were "betrayed." Dalla Chiesa said: "I also fought in the Resistance, but to establish a democratic republic. They, instead, wanted to overturn the entire social system. And they never resigned themselves so that at a certain point they became terrorists."

The "Grand Old Man."

Does the "grand old man" exist? Dalla Chiesa also testified clearly on this point: The brains of subversion, that is "the grand old man," he says, is nothing but the historical nucleus of the Red Brigades: Curcio, Franceschini, Ognibene...In addition there is the great organizer Moretti, for whose organizational abilities the general has high regard. They now play a role of prime importance, both on the ideological and the strategic terrain. And this also emerges from their strategic resolutions, including the last one written in jail and published by L'ESPRESSO in this year's issue No 27.

Finances and International Relations.

balla Chiesa says there is no direct proof of international ties. Some tens of millions of lire were supplied to the area of Autonomy by the Italian Skoda Plant, the Czechoslovak automobile industry, but other firms also may have contributed financial aid. The Red Brigades, however, were essentially self-financed through kidnaping (the Costa kidnaping, to begin with, yielded considerable resources to the organization), extortion, (through the simple threat of kidnaping) burglary, etc. There are also those who give the subversives money simply to avoid difficulties, or even without knowing it. For example: Hyperion, the Paris Language Center mentioned at one time as

a possible external base for the Red Brigades, received money from Fiat (but still more interesting in this regard is the statement made previously by General Santovita, who said that years ago the brother of a person who had been kidnaped gave Hyperion a bank guarantee).

The Moro Cane.

Dalla Chiesa said he could not give much useful information on this point because the responsibility for directing the struggle against refrorism was given to him after the Ridnaping and murder of the DC [Christian Democratic Party] president. The communist members of the committee asked the general if there were ties between the Moro family and Red Brigade emissaries. It is not the first time that the PCI committee members ask this question. The main reasons which emerged during questioning—is perhaps this: A year ago, IL MESSA GIRO newspaperman Fabic Isman told Communist Senator Ugo Pecchioli that he had received a Red Brigade document from the Moro family. Pecchioli advised the newspaperman to report this to the prosecutor and since Isman did not do so, he himself informed Attorney General Pietro Pascalino.

Daila Chiesa replied that he had no knowledge of possible relationships between the More family and the Red Brigade leaders.

The Uniform.

A separate subject dealt with by General Dalla Chiesa is that of the military bases of terrorism, the so-called hideouts. Dalla Chiesa gave the Parliamentary Committee a detailed list of the material found. There is a little of everything: Archives, documents, leaflets and strategic resolutions; actual senals, full of weapons, munitions, and even military uniforms. One of these, particularly, aroused the interest of the committee members: A military uniform of the Soviet Army. Where did this come from? The answer by Dalla Chiesa amounted to an inscription: "It is easy to bring a military uniform into Italy; less easy to get it out of the USSR."

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COUNTRY SECTION NORWAY

### FINANCE MINISTER SAND PLEDGES FALL TAX REFORM REPORT

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 1 Jul 80 p 6

[Interview with Finance Minister Ulf Sand by Per-Arne Bjerke]

[Text] "I understand why some people react when they see how much money is taken out in taxes. But I also think most people accept the tax level if they stop and think about it. It isn't that hard to make people realize that taxes in a welfare state have to be high," said Finance Minister Ulf Sand in this interview with ARBEIDERBLADET. He thought it was unpleasant to sit and listen to the Conservative arguments in the tax debate. "If the Conservative way of thinking gains ground it will endanger the entire welfare state."

How was Ui: Sand doing as finance minister after 9 months in the cabinet post? "The Job is interesting and fun as well as being very hard. But I still have some time to spend together with my children."

New Tax Plan

[Question] When will the finance minister present the new tax plan?

[Answer] We are working on this on the basis of the original tax proposal and the tax debate in Storting. The government will present its tax plan in good time before the election. I can't give you a more precise date.

[Question] Are you disappointed that the first proposal you presented failed to gain majority support?



What is hidden inside the finance minister's briefcase? Perhaps the new tax plan the government intends to present in good time before the election next year. (Photograph by Timmie Skotaam)

[Answer] Yes, because I thought it was a good proposal. The tax plan was an attempt to review in detail the entire tax system. I am sorry Storting rejected it. But Storting didn't turn down the whole plan and we are still working with several elements from the original tax proposal...

Question Does that include the so-called gross taxation principle?

[Answer] No, the Storting discussion showed that this would not receive a majority. So it wouldn't be realistic to go on working on it.

[Question] How would you characterize the Conservative tax arguments?

[Answer] It was not good to hear the statements made by people like Jan P. Syse during the tax debate. The Conservative arguments are permeated by a negative attitude toward all kinds of public activity. Their tax plan is totally unrealistic. We have a good balance today between private and public consumption and there is no reason for lowering the total tax level. If the Conservatives gain ground with their views it would endanger the entire welfare state.

# People Understand

[Question] Is it hard to get people to understand why taxes have to be so high?

[Answer] Actually I think people do accept the current tax level. I do a lot of traveling around the country and I have met with a lot of awareness as to why taxes are the way they are. And the debate outline issued by the Labor Party and LO [Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions] shows that there is clear understanding by a majority of people that the current total tax level is reasonable.

[Question] But can you understand why some people get mad about their taxes?

[Answer] Of course I can understand why people react when they see how much money is being taken in taxes. But even so I think most people approve of the taxes when they think it over. I think the main thing people react to is unfairness in taxation. Thus the main task in the future is to work on removing the inequities now included in the tax system.

Question Your predecessor, Per Kleppe, was viewed by many people as the personal symbol of high taxes while you have so far had less public criticism directed against you. Do you think people regard you as a nicer finance minister? [Answer] I haven't presented a national budget yet. Maybe that's why I haven't had as much trouble as Kleppe.

[Question] Is it easier to be finance minister when we have a surplus the way we do this year?

[Answer] It isn't easier but the surplus in our foreign economy gives us more room for maneuvering. The state won't have to take out a foreign loan and that is a big advantage. But the work to put together a budget is just as difficult. We must still work on maintaining balance between public and private consumption and it is just as important as it was in the past, if not more so, to avoid pressure problems in the economy.

[Question] Does the surplus mean that we have come over the worst hurdle?

[Answer] From the point of view of foreign economy it does. But there are other uncertain elements. This is particularly true of developments abroad. The latest figures indicate that the United States will have a sharp decline this year. The situation is not quite that dramatic in the entire western world, But we cannot expect a growth rate of more than 1 percent in the OECD lands and that means mounting unemployment. The most disturbing thing is that some countries don't seem to take the increase in unemployment very seriously. What happens in the rest of western Europe and in the United States will almost automatically create some problems for us. Therefore we must continue to stress a moderate tempo in increasing our prosperity.

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[Question] In the future do you think you will feel we were right to anticipate oil revenues in order to counteract unemployment?

Answer There is no doubt that we made the right choice. We are the only country in western Europe going into the 1980's with full employment. Developments simply confirm that Norway made the right decision when we decided to take an advance on the oil revenues we knew for certain we would be receiving.

But I would also like to stress that there would be a great danger in becoming too dependent on our oil. If oil activity should decline it would place us in a very difficult situation unless we have more than one iron in the fire. We must not use the oil money in such a way that we become totally dependent on what happens in the North Sea. The income from oil must be invested in the rest of the economy so that we have several elements providing our economic foundation.

[Ouestion] The wage settlement came off all right but more than 48 perce t of LO members in the private sector voted no. Did that surprise you?

[Answer] I'll admit I didn't expect that many no votes. But many factors could have played a part in this, including the form of the settlement and the long period of time it covered. And we should not forget that if we include the LO employees working for the state and local communities there was a clear majority in LO as a whole in favor of the settlement. I am convinced that the attitude toward the wage settlement is not as negative as you might think if you look only at the voting in the private sector.

# Solidarity

(Question) is this settlement really the breakthrough for low wageearners we heard so much about?

[Answer No doubt about it. This year's settlement is a victory for those earning the lowest wages.

Question But if you look at all the no votes it makes you wonder if the feeling of solidarity among LO members is really that strong.

[Answer] There is a strong feeling of solidarity in the union movement. That is shown by the clear low-wage profile in this year's settlement. But I must also admit that I am a little disappointed by the fact that most of the no votes came from LO members with the highest wages. But even so the settlement was approved. That shows most members are willing to sacrifice something for our two major goals--full employment and improving conditions for those making the lowest wages.

[Question] The farm settlement turned out to be the hardest one to arrive at. What are your comments on that?

Answer] The attitude of farmers during the income negotiations did surprise me. I don't feel the farmers' organizations showed the necessary solidarity with society during the negotiations this year. Even though I would have preferred the government proposal without any amendments by Storting the result was quite acceptable. Some factors contributed to uncertainty about the calculations, that is why we were able to extend ourselves as much as we did.

[Question] Prices rose sharply in the first half of the year. Does that worry you?

[Answer] A finance minister is always concerned about price developments. Especially in a period when international prices are rising as

sharply as they are now. But I still have hopes that we can stay within the limits that were the basis for the settlement this year. That is to say a price increase of 9.5 to 10 percent.

[Question] You seem to have had time to warm up to the job. But quite honestly, Ulf Sand, how are you getting along as finance minister?

[Answer] Quite well. The job is both interesting and fun but it is also quite hard. Sometimes it is harder than I thought it would be. But I still have time to be with my children. I put a lot of emphasis on that.

6578 CSO: 8139/1562 COUNTRY SECTION SWEDEN

PAPER OPPOSES IDEA OF 'DETERRENT' NUCLEAR BLAST

LD211517 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Aug 80 p 2

[Editorial: "While the Mushroom Cloud Grows"]

[Text] Sometimes it seems that only two things could end the nuclear threat that hangs over humanity in general and Europe in particular, as things look now, with more and more states stepping over the nuclear arms threshold and the two superpowers seeming to arm themselves in terms of weaponry and of political psychology in preparation, if the worse comes to the worst, for dueling on the other's territory rather than on its own.

One would be an actual "small-scale" nuclear war. If such a war were to break out from intention, mistake, miscalculation or madness but could be halted before everything was destroyed, then the survivors would probably see to it that the remaining nuclear weapons were disarmed (and there are today 50,000-60,000 of them, corresponding to an explosive potential of 1 million Hiroshina bombs and over 3,000 tons of TNT per person on the globe).

The other would be a desperate blackmail action against the nuclear powers from the grass roots. A group of so-called idealist terrorists might steal a number of nuclear weapons and make a public declaration: If you all do not agree on a timetabled plan for nuclear disarmament and begin implementing it openly and under UN control, then we will explode a bomb every 6 months or so-first in a distant location, then successively ever nearer densely populated areas, and in the final resort in one of your capitals.... As soon as the terrorists demonstrated their earnestness and their capacity with the first detonation, then the pressure of public opinion and panic should take care of the rest.

These are of course forbidden thoughts, desperation's madness that would only be exceeded by what a nuclear war would mean, and are perhaps excusable for that.

But when Sigvard Eklund, chief of the International Atomic Energy Organization, IAEA, opened on Monday the second UN followup conference on the

nuclear arms nonproliferation agreement, an indication of the same line of thought could be detected. For he actually suggested that, purely for demonstration purposes, a nuclear warhead should be detonated to create throughout the world a reaction against nuclear arms and give the mass media an idea of the new nuclear arms' destructive capability.

Eklund's proposal shows that a desperation in the face of the seemingly unrestrainable nuclear arms stockpiling and nuclear spread is beginning to creep in along side earlier resignation or cynicism among all the states, technicians, researchers, industries, control organizations that have been trying for decades to pull off the impossible double trick of spreading the technology and products of peaceful nuclear energy (such as enriched uranium and plutonium) and at the same time to stop the technology and ingredients of warlike nuclear energy (such as enriched uranium and plutonium).

The International INCFE Commission, a child of President Carter's attempts to halt the spread of nuclear arms by stopping the development of nuclear fuels (which frees plutonium) and breeder reactors (which multiply the quantities of plutonium) and controlling exports of all "critical" materials, ended last winter with the conclusion that the horse had already bolted. Nuclear energy and nuclear arms are like [Stockholm Professor] Hannes Alfven's siamese twins. There are no technical means of preventing the spread of nuclear arms either quantitatively or to an ever growing number of nations; there are only political means....

But where are the political means in the usual sense of the word? Alva Myrdal has shown that decades of superpower disarmament talks in Geneva and elsewhere have turned into sham games and spectacles for public opinion. The SALT II agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, if it can be tied up next spring, is more a sort of controlled buildup of ever more sophisticated nuclear arms, and a SALT III still seems unlikely. France has broken the neutron bumb barrier—something which could lower the nuclear threshold by making, it would seem, a "limited" nuclear war possible (as if a loser would be able to keep a cool head and his fingers away from the buttons).

President Carter (hopefully for the most part so as not to seem to be a "dove" in the election campaign in comparison with wild west thinker Renald Reagan) has formally announced a sort of rehashed nuclear arms strategy, by which both sides would limit a nuclear war to military targets instead of deterring each other from such a war by holding each other's major cities hostage. This is a worrying echo of the same old military-technological thoughts from both the Russians and the Americans on the possibility of achieving a so-called first strike capability which in one stroke would wipe out the other side's total nuclear capability (and thus requires even greater accuracy, explosive yield, total surprise and so forth in an arms race without reason or end).

The nonproliferation agreement followup conference in Geneva could at best create an unsteady status quo; to prevent all the others from acquiring a nuclear weapon or two-which unfortunately is sufficient to create prestige and function as a one-off threat to world peace-the nuclear powers must at least begin to fulfill their obligations and begin to disarm their own excess nuclear weapons. The conference might also be able to give a push forward to their own promised guarantees not to attack nonnuclear states, in accordance with guidelines Alva Myrdal cogently laid out in the BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTIST, in DAGENS NYHETER and in TIDEN No. 3 for 1980. This would at least mean some relief in the nuclear gloom.

Sigvard Eklund hopes that a deterrent detonation of a nuclear bomb would create a strong body of public opinion against nuclear arms in all countries. Quite right, but such a body of opinion already exists.

The problem is rather how ordinary people's unusually deep concern, and the political and military general staff's ossification everywhere, can be wrested from the wars of nerves and the silence of tactical manipulation. And be united over borders and mental curtains [hjaernridaaerna: Swedish play on "jaernridaaerna"--Iron Curtain] in a constructive liberation movement to avoid collective suicide. To avoid mad, which means both "mad" and is an abbreviation of the English expression "mutual assured destruction." What shock wave could be strong enough, without being too devastating?

COUNTRY SECTION SWEDEN

PREMIER EXPLAINS REASONS FOR INCREASING VALUE ADDED TAX

LD180839 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 12 Aug 80 pp 1, 4

[Report by Leif Dahlgren: "Value Added Tax to Be Raised At End of Month"]

[Text] After consultations that lasted all day yesterday the government reached agreement on an increase in Value Added Tax (VAT) from 1 September.

The VAT increase will be followed by a savings package, the most important points in which will be presented after the government meets on Thursday [14 August].

Prime Minister Thorbjoern Faelldinwas able to announce late yesterday afternoon at a hastily called press conference that the government is now agreed that a VAT increase is now required as "a necessary element in a policy that is intended to restore economic balance."

The decision will not be made formally until after the consultations with the Social Democratic opposition which will begin on Friday, 15 August.

The government would like to see the convening of a session of a so-called mini-Riksdag, that is, the taxation and financial committees, to adopt the VAT resolution. The alternative would otherwise be to bow to the Social Democratic demand for the calling of an extraordinary session of the whole Riksdag.

"If the Social Democrats insist on this then we will not make any trouble," the prime minister said. "It is the matter itself and not the question of form that is the most important thing."

If an extraordinary Riksdag session does take place the VAT increase would be delayed by about a week.

Those who took part in the group that reached the decision yesterday were, in addition to the prime minister, economics minister Goesta Bohman and budget minister Rolf Wirten. Deputy Prime Minister Ola Ullsten was in telephone contant with the three of them.

The background to the decision on VAT was the serious outflow of currency from the country from May to July and the balance of trade gap, that now amounts to all of 18 billion kronor.

"Total demand is too high," the prime minister said. "We cannot continue to have consumption that is so much greater than production."

Of the increase in consumption in recent years 2.3 billion kronor a year have gone into private consumption and a similar amount in public consumption, the prime minister pointed out. There would only have been 100 million kronor per year left, and such a ratio between consumption and investment was unacceptable.

How big the VAT increase will be will only be decided after consultation with the opposition. It will not be selective, since there are no figures on which to base such selectivity, the prime minister said. But there will be compensation for those groups hardest hit. Pensioners will receive automatic compensation. And it will be possible to raise child benefit allowances and rent allowances for families with children.

The prime minister entirely excluded the possibility that the Social Democrats would be totally opposed to the VAT increase.

"If this is the case we will look carefully at every concrete proposal they may make," he said.

The VAT increase will not effect the savings package that will be presented this Thursday and which is intended to effect savings of 7 billion kronor in round figures.

What effect the VAT increase will have on employment is as yet unknown, the prime minister further said.

"Export demand is not falling. Certain export industries are still looking for employees."

And what risk does Thorbjoern Faelldin see of a buying rush?

"There is always such a risk. But now what we must do is get a decision as soon as possible."

According to the prime minister there will definitely be no devaluation in connection with the VAT increase.

COUNTRY SECTION SWEDEN

GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT TAX INCREASE-VAT TRADE-OFF

LD191533 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Aug 80 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Faelldin Willing to Compromise On VAT"]

[Text] Rapid and substantial tax increases on alcohol, tobacco, energy and luxury goods are to replace part of the planned VAT increase of 3 percent. This is expected to be the government's compromise line after consultations Friday [15 August] with the Social Democrats on the economic crisis.

During the weekend experts will evaluate the Social Democratic tax proposals, and on Tuesday the government will reach a decision. Thorbjoern Faelldin and Ola Ullsten are more willing to compromise than Goesta Bohman.

The Social Democrats reject all forms of VAT increase and have instead put forward a handful of alternatives to a VAT increase that are being kept secret for the time being.

The government wants to combine a small VAT increase with the Social Democrats' tax proposals. These new tax proposals would then be able to come into force 3 months earlier than originally planned.

Olof Palme did not accept at all the government's calculations behind the VAT increase and did not consider purchasing power to be too great.

An extraordinary session of the Riksdag will be called by the government for Monday, 25 August. It will convene for 14 days and the final decision on VAT and the new tax rates will be made Friday, 5 September.

COUNTRY SECTION SWEDEN

### NEW MILITARY UNION EXPERIENCES FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 1 Aug 80 p 9

[Text] Conditions are harsh for the economics of the new conscripts union which will be set up in February of next year. At the conscripts conference last spring when representatives of the conscripts decided to establish a conscripts union, Commander in Chief Lennart Ljung and Minister of Defense Eric Kronmark (conservative) rejected the whole idea.

There will be no contribution to the union from the Personnel Division of the Defense Staff. The conscripts working group which was elected by the conscripts conference, the conference itself, and the newspaper VARNPLIKTS-NYTT will, however, continue to receive money.

But that is small consolation for the interim leadership which is working on enlisting members and planning the start of the union.

### Opposition

"The conscripts working group has received strict directives. We can not set foot in their offices, nor use their phones or materials," said Dan Petersson, spokesman for the interim leadership.

"The union budget will be based entirely on dues from the members, one day's pay or about 15 kronor per soldier."

The goal is 5,000 members at the preparatory conference, which will be held in the beginning of December.

That amounts to about every tenth conscript. About 50,000 are called up each year. It will not be possible to get other contributions from the central or local governments before two or three more years. A deficit is expected in the finances for the first year.

But the nine members of the board of directors still struggle on. They go out to visit units and try to get new conscripts to set up branches of the union or to join up as individual members of the union.

# Against Drugs

The interim leadership is also going to take the initiative in a campaign against drug use, in addition to the campaign by the "old" conscripts for 30 kroner per day and a 40-hour work week.

The Swedish Welfare Board will pay for the "soldiers against drugs" campaign. There will be music festivals in some of the regiments. There will be an effort to show alternatives to drinking and drug use in the services.

"We are not a disgruntled movement. It is important to improve the commic and social situation of the conscripts. Conscripts who are conscript over insufficient pay or leave restrictions are not particularly motivated to learn anything.

"If our demands go through it will benefit the defense," said Dan Petersson.

9287 (SO: 3109 DEMIREL-ECEVIT COOPERATION CALLED LAST CHANCE FOR REGIME

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 24 Jun 80 p 3

/Article by Oktay Eksi: "This is the Last Chance"/

/Text/ What was the public expecting from yesterday's joint session of the Turkish Grand National Assembly?

That the two leaders would go out and attack each other in even more vitriolic terms than they had before, that they would snatch away the last remnants of hope we had, that they would say, "I hope whoever votes for them and their party will break his arm"? Is that what was expected? Or was it expected that they might save us from these days of darkness which stifle us like a nightmare, that they might do something to light the fires of hope?

Probably both, right?

Take Mr Ecevit's speech:

He said they would not accept any draft giving extraordinary powers to the government in office. "Are we to give extraordinary powers to this government, which has kept in office the people who used black-masked thugs as informants in Fatsa, which has left the governors of Nevsehir and Yozgat in office?" he said.

Then he recalled that Demirel has not yet retracted his famous line that "You can't get me to say that right wingers are committing crimes." He suggested that giving extraordinary powers to a prime minister and government with this mentality would do the country harm instead of good.

Let us say immediately: He was "right" in everything he said.

But it is unfortunate that he spoke these truths at a very bad time. He acted like a crabby neighbor who sees a fire upstairs next door and, ignoring the fact that the first thing that has to be done is put it out, vells at his neighbor, "Put out your own fire; I'm not doing it."

Let us agree for a moment. The neighbor should in fact put out the fire. Is the important thing at this point to answer the question of who should put out the fire or to put out the fire?

In fact, Mr Demirel's approach was more constructive. Mr Demirel -- with a maturity and understanding that, frankly, surprised us -- said that the important thing was "to restore democratic authority" to the state.

Yes, giving extraordinary powers to an administration that does not even believe in its own impartiality defies logic. But it is necessary, also, to remember that the laws are written for the state, not for governments.

Yet Demirel stated that he was open to all suggestions and that if another government were formed tomorrow he was ready to do everything he could to get the laws passed which that government would implement.

Where has he been all along?

Why did he promise to form an impartial administration?

Is he not the one who has not allowed the houses of parliament to function?

Was he going to subdue the dragon called "anarchy and terrorism" by himself?

It is possible that you oppose Demirel and are saying these and other things.

And it would not be wrong to say that a person of Demirel's makeup becomes "open to cooperation" like this only when he is very seriously worried.

But these and words like them have no value at all today and are not of the slightest use to the nation, or to any of us for that matter.

What should be done today is not to try to hurt each other as much as possible but to join hands and save our nation from this nightmare, from this fire.

Ecevit ought not to let this last chance for the parliamentary regime be wasted.

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## TURKISH RADIO REPORTS ON INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE

TA140523 [Editorial Report] Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish from 9 August to 13 August reported the following violent incidents which occurred in various parts of Turkey:

At 1000 GMT on 9 August, the radio reported that a booby-trapped placard put up in Besiktas, Istanbul, exploded while police sappers were trying to dismantle it, seriously wounding five policemen and a passerby.

The text of a report carried by the radio at 1500 GMT on 9 August follows: Ismet Galip Cetin, a RPP member of the Adama General Provincial Council, was killed by a terrorist in his office. RPP leader Bulent Ecevit sent condolences to the chairman of the Adama Provincial Council following the murder of Cetin. In Eskisehir, three terrorists killed a local Mukhtar, Riza Soydas, in his grocery store. Ahmet Yalcinkaya, a teacher who was sitting in the terrace of his house in Nizip, a district of Gaziantep, was fatally shot. His 3-year-old son who was sitting on his lap was seriously wounded.

At 1800 GMT on 10 August, the radio reported that one terrorist was killed in an armed clash with the police in Gaziantep. He was carrying one gun and two clips. The other three terrorists fled, leaving behind two more guns.

In its 2000 GMT broadcast on 10 August, the radio reported that two incidents occurred in Ordu. The first incident occurred in Golkoy District when terrorists stopped a car which was traveling from Mesudiye District toward Golkoy and fired shots at the five persons in the car. Four of them [names indistinct] were killed and Pinal Yildiz was seriously wounded. During the second incident which occurred in Catalpinar subdistrict in Fatsa, an armed clash broke out between security forces and Emin Diken, Ahmet Diken and Fibri Diken, who are wanted for murder. Emin and Ahmet Diken were killed during the clash and Fibri Diken was wounded. As he was trying to escape, Fibri Diken killed Murat Diken who was in his way and managed to escape.

At 2000 GMT on il August, the radio reported that terrorists killed a policeman, Mustafe Bozoklu, in Bahcelievler, Istanbul, Another policeman, Adem Gulbay, was killed in front of his house in Adams by a terrorist who approached him from behind and shot him in the head. Terrorists fired upon villagers who were harvesting nuts in Divekyani and Haci, two villages in Ordu's Fatsa District, killing two 11-year-old children and wounding three people.

During two incidents reported at 1600 GMT on 12 August, two persons were shot dead by terrorists in Ordu's Fatsa District. Bayram Soylemez and Bayram Kina were killed by unidentified terrorists in Evkaf quarter and Karakaya village respectively as they were going to morning prayers. Two other persons were wounded during the incidents.

At 1600 GMT on 13 August, the radio reported that gendame units apprehended 13 persons in fatsa and its villages. Arrest warrants had been issued for all 13 in absentia. In searches conducted in the suspects' homes, 12 automatics, 22 clips and 397 rounds of ammunition were found.

# SSK ALLEGED TO BE ON EDGE OF BANKRUPTCY

istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 11 Jul 80 p 9

/Text/ Bursa, TURKISH NEWS AGENCY -- The Social Security Organization /SSK/ which provides social security services to 2.5 million workers and retirees in Turkey is facing "bankruptcy," unable to meet the 11 billion total needed for retirement insurance on 1 August 1980.

The SSK's 1979 books were examined by an auditor's commission, composed of Ergin Evcimen, Yilmaz Ornek, Dr Riza Acar, Mustafa Durmus, Abdullah Yucel, Ayhan Soyturk, Muammer Esendik, Celal Yalcin, Birsel Kurdoglu and Cahit Dugsun, which issued a report saying, in summary:

/It was determined that quarterly cash totalling 11 billion lines to be paid to retired insurees at the beginning of August 1980 does not presently exist./ /in boldface/

The report states, "Increased outlays have been brought about by inflation, a 56 percent increase in payments as a result of raising the employee multiple from 16 to 25, years of failing to collect employer contributions, failure to obtain returns concomitant with conditions of the day from organization investments and habitual late collection for a wide variety of reasons on housing credit loans obtained from the organization." The report then sets forth the following views:

"The organization has been brought into serious straits and is facing the danger of bankruptcy. Years of attempting to improve the organization's financial situation in the general assemblies have brought no positive developments vis-a-vis legislation. Our commission sees it as our duty to assert that it has now become obligatory for the state to contribute to the financing of the organization."

In the "Premium Debts" section of the report, it is pointed out that the organization had 15.846 billion liras in premiums receivable from employers as of January 1980, 8.419 billion liras of this amount belonging to the public sector and 7.427 billion to the private sector.

The auditing commission listed as follows its findings on premium debts:

"Of the 15,846 billion-lira organization receivables, the amount spent on legal prosecution is 7.255 billion liras. The amount transferred to the Premium Objection Commissions is 501 million liras. The amount committed to installments by the general directorate is 195 million liras, debts of employers with unknown addresses are 97 million, the amount still not transferred to cash owing to supply requisition formalities is 7.4 billion 797 million liras /as published/."

Of the 7.4 billion-lira premium debt belonging to the private sector, 3.3 million liras belong to workplaces employing less than 10 workers.

The premium debt of 8.419 billion liras representing the organization's receivables from the public sector is on the following establishments:
Machine and Chemical Industry, 982 million liras; Iron and Steel Enterprise, 37 million liras; Turkish Public Enterprises, 5.194 billion liras;
Turkish State Railways, 220 million liras; Ankara Municipality, 286 million liras; Istanbul Municipality, 747 million liras; Izmir Municipality, 93 million liras; other municipalities, a total of 1.285 million liras.

COUNTRY SECTION

WORKERS IN LIBYA ESTABLISH 'PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES'

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 11 Jul 80 p 7

/Article by Nilufer Yalcin/

/Text/ Instigators among Turkish workers in Libya have divided the workers into left and right camps, forming Libyan-style "people's committees" and initiating a revolutionary trend, it was learned.

According to reports coming to Ankara, a "Workers People's Committee Association of Turkish Nationals" has been formed in Tripoli by means of a petition bearing 1,500 signatures. Efforts are going forward to form the same type of people's committees in Benghazi and other cities. Reportedly, these people's committees, begun under the leadership of separatist othnic instigators, receive material and moral support from the Qadhdhafi government in their activities; buildings, clubrooms and various resources are provided the people's committee organizations by Libyan authorities; and "committees to take their place in the existing administration in Turkey are being trained in the methods of Libyan Revolution."

In addition, left and right organization among Turkish workers has accelerated and clashes have begun occurring in various places. According to reports received, last Firday in Tripoli, Turkish workers attending Friday services were shot at by leftist organization members as they left the mosque. One Turkish worker was killed in this incident and many others were injured.

Noting that people's committee organizational activities have been going on for the past few months, government authorities said, "The reports, unfortunately, are completely true. Attention of the Libyan government and functionaries has been drawn to this matter; the Ankara government even issued Libya a severe warning on the latest developments."

According to sources close to the government, "Ankara is watching in detail the developments and incidents in Libya. Separatist groups in particular which have joined Turkish workers are fanning the flames of ethnic differences and have the goal of training our workers for a Libyan-type revolution. This is the reason for the "Turkish Nationals" in the name given to

the people's committees. It has been determined that the Qadhdhafi administration is behind them and the necessary warnings have been made. However, because this activity is seen in the framework of the policy of disseminating the Libyan Revolution throughout the world by means of people's committees which Libyan Head of State Qadhdhafi described himself in his green book, the Libyan administration considers it a duty to facilitate these efforts in every way. As known, various people's committees have taken over certain organizations and missions in Libya and abroad. The same methods are being taught to Turkish workers. Around 30,000 Turkish workers are employed in this country, and oversight of them is difficult for a variety of reasons."

A high-level authority, noting that the workers are brought to Libya by Turkish firms that win investment amends in this country, said, "After being trained in Palestinian can libyan-type training is next. This problem has to be dealt with at highest level. These developments will have a very bad effect on relations between the two countries, and unless they are brought to an immediate halt, the Turkish government will be forced to review the matter of sending workers to Libya."

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AUTOMATIC WEAPONS MANUFACTURE IN BLACK SEA AREA REPORTED

Istanbul hittIYET in Turkish 11 Jul 80 p 10

/Text/ Two automatic Sten rifles seized in an armed clash between the Dev-Sol /Revolutionary Road/ group and security forces last Monday in Karakoy reportedly were manufactured in the Black Sea area.

Police authorities said that the automatic weapons were no different from those manufactured abroad. "We have to find the shops where these weapons are made as soon as possible. This is the first time that automatic hand weapons have been manufactured in Turkey, and this makes it easier for the organizations to arm themselves," they said.

Istanbul Security Director Sukru Balci pointed out that besides the automatic rifles, about 20 Dev-Sol militants were wounded as a result of the armed clash in Karakoy. "They claim that they are on the citizen's side, but they were using citizens to shield themselves while they fired at security forces. They contradict themselves with these actions," he said.

The Istanbul security director, who also mentioned recent claims of police torture, said, "The security forces will use all the powers given them by the law to combat and repulse the attacks of professional murderers and terrorists on the state and the parliamentary regime. Every legal means will be used in this regard. If laws and measures are inadequate, the security forces will not hesitate to offer their lives if necessary for the preservation of the citizenry, peace, the state and the democratic regime. We would hope that all constitutional institutions would have the same sentiments. The security forces' struggle against these terrorists has been and will be by legal and democratic means."

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### DROP IN PRODUCTION OF BASIC GOODS REPORTED

Istanbul AYDINLIK in Turkish 12 Jul 80 pp 1, 6

/Text/ Ankara (GHA /expansion unknown/) -- Of the goods whose production is monitored by the SPO /State Planning Office/, 28 saw an increase in production in the first 4 months of 1980, while 68 saw a decline.

Production in the first 4 months of 1980 of around 100 to 110 basic and critical commodities whose monthly production is monitored by the SPO was compared with the same period of 1979.

The SPO study states, "Turkey has recently entered a period of inflation at very high rates with prices steadily increasing. Changes in production within the sectors of basic goods are rather important from the standpoint of our inflationary economy." It goes on to express the following views:

"Program goals are remaining unmet with the drops in production in these commodities. This situation may cause serious hitches in balanced industrialization and development within stability."

Causes of Decline in Production

According to the SPO, the causes of the production decline are: "Foreign exchange squeeze and resulting transfer difficulties (inability to import raw materials, spare parts and equipment), inability to obtain sufficient fuel on time (usually diesel fuel, fuel oil and coal), tight financing, electricity outages and strikes."

On the other hand, diesel fuel and fuel oil production, which affects national industry, rose 47.4 percent and 16.5 percent respectively during this period, and public sector lignite production rose 31 percent in the same period.

It was pointed out in the evaluation that the fuel oil and diesel fuel shortage which had a negative effect on production is completely over and the coal shortage partly over.

Officials said, "All of these are indicators pointing to increased production in the months ahead. Thus, the views that the production decline seen in the first 4 months of 1980 will disappear are gaining strength."

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### SHIFT TO EASTERN BLOC MARKET IN COTTON THREAD SALES

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 24 Jul 80 p 9

/Text/ Ankara, ANKARA AGENCY -- Hungary and Poland from the Eastern Bloc nations are offering the hope to be new market for Turkish cotton thread. Thanks to Hungary and Poland's increased cotton thread purchases from Turkey, the Eastern Bloc nations' 4 percent share of total cotton thread exports in 1979 has risen to 11 percent in 1980.

Despite the increase of cotton thread exports to Eastern Bloc nations, general exports are seen to have declined. Cotton thread exports for the January-May period were \$94.33 million. This amount is 4.4 percent lower than the \$98.66 million in exports in the same period in 1979.

The decline in exports has led to failure to meet the quotas applied to Turkey by EEC nations, to which the greater portion of cotton thread exports is made. Authorities said in this regard that "problems with certain countries may not arise until the end of the year, but there seems to be a general difficulty in filling quotas."

The decline in cotton thread exports is caused by expecting prices to go up in parallel with domestic prices and cotton prices, and the slowdown in production, meanwhile, also stimulates this expectation. Despite available low-cost stocks, using all of these for exports is being avoided and a rising trend in prices on the domestic market is expected.

Meanwhile, the per-kilo "support and price stability premium" on cotton thread exports reportedly has a negative effect on exports also.

While general exports are declining, purchases by Hungary in the first 5 months of the year increased three-fold as compared to 1979, rising from \$2.28 million to \$6.66 million, and Poland's purchases rose from \$559,000 to \$3.44 million. As for other Eastern Bloc nations, Czechoslovakia and East Germany have made occasional "spot" purchases.

According to information obtained from Cotton Thread Exporters Union officials, "Cotton thread exports to Eastern Block nations are only one-third of the registrations. The exclusion, under IMF pressure, of exports to Eastern Bloc nations from incentive measures prevents more concentrated entry into these markets."

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### BRIEFS

CYPRIOTS REDUCE MILITARY SERVICE--The Council of Ministers of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus has decided to reduce the term of military service to 4 nonths. In a statement to the Turkish News Agency in Cyprus [TAK] It the end of the extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Affairs, Defense and Tourism Minister Kenan Atakol said that the government has decided--based on the recommendation of the Security Forces Command--to reduce the term of active military service to 24 months and the term of service for NCO's to 22 months as of 18 August. [Text] [TAO81523 Bayrak Radio [Clandestine] in Turkish to Cyprus 1300 GMT 8 Aug 80]

ISTANBUL ARRESTS—The Istanbul martial law forces apprehended 2,033 members of illegal organizations in and around Istanbul during the first 6 months of the year. The 2,033 were being sought for murder, inflicting injuries, involvement in robberies, firing at security forces and at offices, throwing explosives, writin, slogans on walls and demonstrating illegally. Of those apprehended, 1,865 are leftists and 168 are rightists. In the searches they conducted on their persons and in their homes, the security forces found 1 submachine gun, 256 pistols, 3,726 rounds of ammunition, 24 bombs, 323 dynamite fuses, 3 shotguns, 37 dynamite caps, 50 riot gas batons, 1 radio, fake identity cards, garroting chains, money and jewelry from robberies. [Text] [TA141142 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1000 GMT 13 Aug 80 TA]

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Sept. 17, 1980